/11 cont./

*795 [793] It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] [778] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 *795 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in [312] order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, moreover, [496] linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé.

346 *795 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

/13 cont./

346 These minarets have been finished since 1956, and one can climb to their summits, from where one discovers the panorama of Touba and the surrounding plain.

346 778 From the mosque there is direct access to the tomb of Amadou Bamba, which is in a mausoleum built into the north-east corner of the building beside the great prayer room. The tomb proper (covered by velvet hangings embroidered with Koranic sayings stitched into arabesques) is in the middle of the mausoleum; it is surrounded by wrought-iron grillwork which keeps visitors at a distance, while at the same time allowing many of them to contemplate the saint's tomb. The ground all around the tomb is covered with fine, sifted sand, replaced continually to keep it clean.

The tomb of the first caliph, Amadou Moustapha, is located outside the mosque on the east façade several meters from the wall. The mausoleum resembles a little bungalow; one enters it directly from the outside, without going through the mosque. Here, too, the tomb is hidden behind embroidered hangings.

[782] These places are redolent of an atmosphere of contemplation. The air is heavy with the perfume of the incense burned constantly before the tombs.

*795 796 At Touba, the great Moslem religious celebrations are particularly prominent. Thus the faithful come from quite far away (when they can) in order to celebrate at Touba rather than elsewhere the Corytée, the Tabaski, or the Gamou (1).

1. These three celebrations correspond respectively to the Aid el Fitr, the Aid el Kebir, and the Mouloud of Islamic tradition.

[788] But the great celebration of Touba, the specifically Murid solemnity /14/ which every good talibé tries to attend every year if possible, is the Magal.

/14 cont./

The first Magal took place October 19, 1928, at the initiative of Amadou Moustapha and on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Amadou Bamba.

Since Falilou M'Backé, the second caliph, took over the leadership of the brotherhood, the Magal has changed in date and meaning. It now commemorates Amadou Bamba's return from exile, his prophetic vision, and his permanent establishment at Diourbel. Thus the second caliph linked his action directly to that of the Founder by giving back to the Magal its original meaning, desired as early as 1912 by Amadou Bamba himself when he instituted, with an identical signification, what was then called the second Tabaski.

Since 1928 this manifestation has not ceased to grow in importance, and today more than 200,000 pilgrims go to Touba each year on this occasion.

The pilgrimage lasts three days, although some fanatics often remain for five days, sometimes eight.

The high point is the second day; the last is called the "official day," because then the caliph speaks in public to the pilgrims, before the representatives of authority whom he has invited.

A week before this "official day," the first pilgrims begin to arrive at Touba; their number increases rapidly and progressively as the opening date for the pilgrimage proper approaches.

During these days the pilgrims arrive in the holy city by every means: on foot or by cart for the nearest ones; by train, truck, and taxi for those farther away. Whatever vehicle is used, it is always overloaded: eight or ten ride in a sightseeing car; 90 (and even a few more) in a truck which should carry only 50 persons (this is a matter of four- to five-ton trucks, not covered, on which the travelers crowd together, standing up and pressed against one another between the railings, like canned fish). The trains, too, are jammed, and there are as many pilgrims on the roofs and bumpers of the cars as inside.

Traffic is thick, but in spite of the conditions, there are few accidents, at least serious accidents, considering the great

/14 cont./

484 494 number of persons transported. There are sometimes spectacular ones, but cases involving fatalities are fortunately very rare.

● 788 [497] The transportation of the pilgrims is closely watched by the /15/ Administration. The Office of Railroads organizes special trains. The subdivision heads grant to the owners of the trucks special transportation authorizations. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Diourbel, aided by the Senegal government, strengthens the security forces and highway police.

788 *795 But that is not the only problem which the organization and unfolding of the Magal presents for the Caliph-general and the Administration.

[485] Sheltering all these people for three days and more is another. The provisioning of the pilgrims in water and food must be organized; sanitary and medical service must be ensured; finally, it is necessary to ensure order and discipline in [625] the city of Touba itself, as is done on the roads, and the commander of the circle of Diourbel can only accomplish this with sizable police reinforcements, set apart in advance almost everywhere (as far as Dakar and Kaolack), which are put at his disposal for this purpose.

At the opening of the pilgrimage, three days before the Official Day, the crowd has reached its maximum size. Touba [494] then experiences extraordinary activity. The road between Touba and M'Backé is continually furrowed in both directions by files of trucks which run without respite between the two agglomerations. The station platforms disappear under the flood of pilgrims who disembark innumerably from the last trains. The wide avenues of the city are filled with the crowd [438] of pilgrims who carry out their religious duties or stroll in front [443] of the little flat baskets where, as in all pilgrimages in the world, the most diverse objects are sold, from articles of clothing, such as babouches or samaras, to perfumes and jewelry, including the most varied articles of piety: prayers or verses from the Koran printed in Arabic, photographs of the Caliph-general or of Amadou Bamba, or even pictures in Oriental

/15 cont./

[788] style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing
[795] the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[438] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which
[443] floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook
[265] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will
[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves
[778] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falilou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs
[778] of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/16 cont./

• 788 *795 798 At the tomb of the Master there is always a pious crowd whose meditation, even though sincere, allows the joy at being in so famous and holy a place to show through. If they can, the pilgrims walk around the tomb three times while reciting the consecrated formula: "In the name of God the Clement, the Merciful. May God bless our Lord Mohammed, the Envoy of God, and save him." Then each of them puts down his mite and takes a handful of the sand surrounding the base of the tomb, which is regarded as a powerful talisman capable of extricating the one who possesses it from every difficult situation.

[789]

On the tomb of Amadou Moustapha the pilgrim meditates and leaves a small offering, but does not pick up any sand.

One does not leave these holy places without spending a moment in the mosque.

The latter, during the whole pilgrimage, never empties; people come and go, chat there, and rest there. It is no longer a place of prayer and meditation; for the moment it is a work-yard which one visits, rather than a sacred monument where one meditates, but, the visit ended, one returns from there proud of knowing the greatest mosque in Senegal, proud of having climbed to the top of its minarets.

/17/ Upon leaving there, the pilgrims go, in groups or alone, to the home of the marabout to whom they are directly attached, and they also take an offering to him.

The last trip of the pilgrimage is the visit to the cemetery. This is laid out around the Sacred Baobab (Goui Tékhé), at the foot of which Amadou Bamba had the supernatural vision " of the fish which supports the world," indicating to him that he had indeed arrived at the place where he was to build Touba. A little enclosure marks the site where he had that vision. The most educated and the most pious pilgrims meditate and pray there; the others, and especially the women, content themselves with visiting the graves, particularly those of Aminata Lo, wife of the Founder and mother of Amadou Moustapha, of Babacar M'Backé, son of the Sérigne Bamba, dead at an early

/17 cont./

788 *795 778 age, of Massamba and M'Bara M'Backé, half brothers /on the father's side/ of the same Sérigne. They will go also to the graves of the first marabouts of the brotherhood and of the first disciples of the Master, Ali Touré, Ibrahima Sarr, Assana N'Diaye, and they will stop longer at that of the beloved disciple, Ibra Fall, at the entrance of which is planted the hir, the historic stake with which was marked the site of the tomb of Amadou Bamba after the miraculous vision which we mentioned above.

There, too, in front of each grave, talibé-cashiers do not stop soliciting the generosity of the pilgrims.

788 *795 When these ritual visits are over, the talibé is purified and sanctified. If he has any time left, it is possible for him to go back to the city and mingle with the crowd of pilgrims. He can also collaborate in the construction of the mosque by breaking pieces of laterite (huge piles of which are to be found near the mosque and are used in the making of the concrete) ... [785] unless he lingers to watch some fanatic of the Murid branch of the M'Baye Fall devote himself to flagellation exercises ... with a millet pestle.

At sundown he will participate with all the pilgrims in the [787] salam du Maghreb (evening prayer); this is the only moment in the day when the 200,000 pilgrims assemble in front of the mosque for a common prayer.

The last day of the pilgrimage is thus the "Official Day." It is called this because the Caliph invites to it all the personalities and all the authorities of the circle of Diourbel, of Senegal, of the Government-general, of the official as well as of the private milieus. All accept this invitation, and those who cannot attend send representatives.

This day essentially requires an official ceremony which takes place in the middle of the morning. The Caliph, escorted /18/ by his most notable guests and followed by the crowd of the others, makes his way to a platform sheltered by canopies and erected in the plaza of the mosque, on which everyone

/18 cont./

788
*795 settles himself. Speeches are then made by the representatives of the authorities and by the Caliph. The latter in his response exalts in general the friendship of France for Islam, assures our country of his faithfulness and affection, and invites his faithful to conduct themselves like good Moslems, like pious disciples of Amadou Bamba, and like loyal and good citizens, thus emphasizing the good understanding which now prevails between the brotherhood and the French administration.

After this ceremony the Magal is ended; while, on the stroke of noon, the Caliph-general is offering an abundant and sumptuous repast to his guests, the first departures of the pilgrims take place. All during the afternoon a large number of faithful arrive home. But those who can do not leave immediately, so that for two to three more days the jammed trains and the overloaded trucks will take back to their villages talibés who are indeed tired, but happy about their pilgrimage and singing the praises of God, the Prophet, and Amadou Bamba.

The Magal is therefore a big affair. When his guests have departed, when the pilgrims have gone home, in the city rid of its cloud of dust, in the silence finally found again with the taking down of the many loud-speakers which broadcast the religious songs and the prayers in the compounds of the priests and around the mosque, Falilou M'Backé can draw up the balance-sheet of this manifestation.

[793] The Magal allows the brotherhood to measure its strength and cohesion; it permits its members to approach the Caliph-general, who, for them, is a saint whose only goal is to realize down here the wishes of Amadou Bamba. Finally, it permits their supreme leader to measure their faithfulness to his person and their attachment to the brotherhood. The one and the other are still very solid and strong nowadays, since the amount of the gifts collected at the last few Magal is on the order of 150,000,000 CFA francs.

A manifestation of the vitality of Muridism, the Magal is also a Senegalese event; many people who are not Murids go

/18 cont./

•788 *795 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] [207] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and participate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 *795 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance, it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "*sé-*
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with them. Violent incidents involving politi-
[788] cal enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

[9 cont.]

787 805 Time: Certain hours are favorable for the birth of dreams -- especially those when silence is deepest, that is to say, from midnight to early morning and the hour of the siesta (when it is customary to have one).

Among all the months of the year, the month of Nisân (April) is the most propitious, according to a universal belief.

787 788 Texts to quote: In order to evoke a favorable dream, it is recommended that, before lying down, one quote verses from the Koran, which differ greatly according to the method used; [779] those of the first holy book, the Fâtiha, are most preferred for this practice. The Souratou el Ikhâssi ("qhoul houe Allahou ahadoun" = There is only one God) is most frequently used, and one must say it seven times.

There are others (for example, "Astâgh firou Allah!" = May God forgive me!) which one must say 100 times.

[776] The nine names of God (El Djabar = The Almighty, El Moukatabir = The Proud One, El Amad = The Eternal One, El Bâtin = The Hidden One, El Kâdir = The Mighty One, El Madjîd = The Illustrious One, El Bourkhân = The Miracle, El Mouktadir = The One for Whom Anything Is Possible, El Rahman = The Merciful) must be repeated 21 times before sleeping.

Various practices: In order to promote favorable dreams, as well as to drive away bad dreams, one observes various rules which differ only in details.

[783] Thus, to execute the practice of listikhâra, one must make his ablutions (following a rigorously prescribed order) and then [782] his evening prayer. During each rakaa (1), one must say eleven

> 1. Phase of the prayer which involves: 1 standing position; 1 bowing position, the hands on the knees; 2 prostrate positions, the forehead against the ground; 1 seated position.

times (or more, according to the method followed) the verses of Fâtiha and other quotations from the Koran.

17: Mercier-- 10 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
Lebu

/15 cont./

called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

S 369x W 369 S W [162] [563]

b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

S 369x [788] S [162]

6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).